

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L PRETORIA 4179

NODIS-CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJ: SECRETARY'S VISIT: MEETING WITH DR. MANAS BUTHELEZI

1. FOLLOWING IS BRIEFING MEMO FOR MEETING AT BURGERS PARK HOTEL OF UNDERSECRETARY REOGERS OR ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFLE WITH DR. BUTHELEZI AT 3:30 P.M. SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 18. FOLDER WITH BRIEFING MEMO, PHOTOGRAPH AND ADDITION BIO SKETCH WILL BE AVAILABLE TO PARTY UPON ARRIVAL.

2. MEETING WITH DR. MANAS BUTHELEZI. BACKGROUND:  
A DISTANT COUSIN OF ZULU CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI, MANAS HAS A DISTINGUISHED RECORD AS A THEOLOGIAN WITH A LONG AND CLOSE ASSOCIATION WITH THE UNITED STATES. HE HAS VIGOROUSLY OPPOSED SOUTH AFRICA'S SPARTHEID POLICIES, AND HAS EMERGED IN RECENT WEEKS AS ONE OF THE VERY FEW OLDER BLACKS WHO APPEAR TO HAVE GOOD LINES OF COMMUNICATION WITH YOUNG BLACK STUDENTS AND ACTIVISTS. HE IS IN A PRECARIOUS POSITION, HAVING SPOKEN OUT STRONGLY AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT'S ACTIONS IN SOWETO AS A LEADING MEMBER OF THE SOWETO BLACK PARENTS' ASSOCIATION, AND THE GOVERNMENT IS EXTREMELY WARY OF HIS POTENTIAL INFLUENCE.

OF ALL THOSE LEADERS MEETING WITH THE OFFICIAL US PARTY, MANAS BUTHELEZI PROBABLY COMES CLOSEST TO BEING ACCEPTED BY YOUNG BLACK ACTIVISTS. HE WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY WARN  
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THAT YOUNG URBAN BLACKS VIEW THE UNITED STATES AS IN

LEAGUE WITH WHITE SOUTH AFRICA IN ORDER TO PROTECT AND ADVANCE ECONOMIC INTERESTS. THE CURRENT DISCUSSIONS, HAVING BEEN PLAYED CONVINCINGLY BY THE SAG TO DOMESTIC AUDIENCES AS A WARMING OF US-SA RELATIONS AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS, ARE INTERPRETED BY BLACK ACTIVISTS AS A RELAXING, OR POTENTIAL RELAXING, OF US PRESSURES FOR DOMESTIC RACIAL CHANGES AS A QUID PRO QUO FOR SECURING SAG COOPERATION ON THE RHODESIAN AND NAMIBIAN PROBLEMS. IT MAY BE VERY DIFFICULT TO CONVINCE BUTHELEZI OTHERWISE, BUT THE FACT THAT HE IS OFFERED THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS HIS CONCERNS AT A HIGH LEVEL MAY ASSIST. WHILE HOPING TO BE GIVEN SOME ASSURANCES OF CONTINUING US INTEREST AND POSSIBLE INCREASING EFFORTS TO PERSUADE THE SAG TO MAKE SIGNIFICANT DOMESTIC CHANGES, HE WILL BE VERY SKEPTICAL UNLESS AND UNTIL SOME CONCRETE RESULT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED. WHAT IS CONVEYED TO HIM MAY HAVE A SIGNIFICANT IMPACT ON THE ATTITUDE OF YOUNG BLACK ACTIVISTS TOWARD THE US ROLE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

POINTS FOR DISCUSSION

1. THE RATIONALE FOR THE DEVELOPING US CONCERN ABOUT SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND THE PRIORITIES IN OUR APPROACH.
2. HOW WE ENVISION AN IMPACT BEING PRODUCED ON SOUTH AFRICA AS A CONSEQUENCE OF CURRENT EFFORTS.
3. SOLICITATION OF HIS PROJECTED SCENARIOS FOR EVENTS IN THE NEAR TERM IN SOUTH AFRICA.
4. SOLICITATION OF HIS VIEWS ON CONSTRUCTIVE AND REALISTIC STEPS THE US MIGHT TAKE TO ENCOURAGE THE PROCESS OF CHANGE, AND HOW WE COULD MAKE OUR EFFORTS CREDIBLE AMONG CONCERNED BLACKS.

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